

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## Counsels of Despair

by  
**GEO. M. LI. DAVIES**

on reading the Life of  
**C. P. SCOTT,**  
"that Bayard among  
journalists sans peur  
et sans raproche."

THE sense of vocation to some form of Christian ministry was strong enough, while he was still a young Oxford graduate, to make C. P. Scott stipulate when offered the prospect of the editorship of the Manchester Guardian,

but I ought to have added that the time might come when the path of duty would lie the other way, and that should it ever be God's good pleasure to give me power and opportunity to do better service in a fresh field, to that service I must be free to devote myself; but God will show me what is best if I can but give myself wholly to his guidance.

Of his fifty years of editorship, it was said that "he made righteousness readable," and on the centenary of the Guardian in 1921 Scott received congratulations from the King and leaders of the press and of all political parties for his "courage and high-mindedness." His intimate and honest counsel with Liberal leaders, his constant efforts "to save the soul of Lloyd George," his consistent witness against oppression and for the claims of minorities all over Europe raised a standard of political righteousness and mercy unequalled in journalism.

### Making Anarchy

Yet the book is sad reading. Politics so often seemed to have become "organized quarrelling," and victory so often meant the deepening of personal alienation. Scott lived to see the old Liberal idealism of Lloyd George and of President Wilson's Fourteen Points of a just peace whittled down to the legalism, hate, and huckstering of Versailles, while famine and pestilence and the sheer tribalism of despair were making anarchy in Europe. As J. M. Keynes put it at the time,

It is an extraordinary fact that the fundamental problem of a Europe starving and disintegrating before their eyes was the one question on which it was impossible to arouse the interest of the Four.

But it was not only the actual material anarchy and suffering that distressed Scott; the very fact of it could stimulate Hoover and Nansen to action, and move soldiers like General Plumer in the army of occupation to protest. It was the anarchy of ideas, of spiritual blindness, of losing one's soul to win the world that brought Scott to the point of despair. In a letter written in January 1916 he says

I hate the very thought of the permanent division and hostility in Europe which they contemplate, and if that is all we have to look forward to, I feel as if the future had little interest for me and I had rather get out of it. It isn't the material loss or even the prospect necessarily involved of future wars and bloodshed; it is the enthronement in Europe of the spirit of hatred and revenge. I had rather take almost any material risk than accept that.

But it is here that the dividing line of policy is going, I think, to assert itself, and already the division is beginning clearly enough, and it will not be a party division. Runciman's speech the other day pointed clearly enough to the organization of a permanent antagonism, and for that there will be the support of all the fear and hate left by the war.

That was twenty-six years ago; The idealists of "the War to end War," and of the Fourteen Points of a just peace had to meet the realists at Versailles—the journalists and politicians who had whipped up the passions of the crowd and had promised victory, retribution, and revenge, so that eventually the pledged word of the Fourteen Points was broken and the written word of the legal Treaty ex-

torted under the duress of blockade and famine and the Balkanization of Europe.

### What Retribution Means

The Christmas sermon of the Archbishop of Canterbury last month did not speak of revenge but of retribution. Our Russian allies are more explicit as to what this retribution is to mean, not only in the extermination of German soldiers but in the peace that is to follow. And now the Archbishop of York is becoming explicit too:

Let us not make any mistake about it. If you are not going to be pacifists, if you

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### The Bricks We Need

FOR what cause I know not, my letter-bag has lately been filled with bouquets without bricks; and I take the curtain gratefully on behalf of my colleagues. But my speech is to remonstrate with our readers on the slackening of their zeal for the two funds for which I have to plead week by week. This week it is the turn of the "Peace News" Fighting Fund.

Fundamentally, the purpose to which the two funds are dedicated is the same: to keep the imagination alive when the forces which conspire to smother it grow in volume every day. "Exalt mental and depress corporeal war!" as Blake put it. That explains why we call it the Fighting Fund. It might as well be called the Building Fund—for the New Jerusalem. On that understanding, pass along your bricks in a steady stream.

Contributions Jan. 13-26: £31 8s. 2d. Total to date: £23,139 13s. 6d.

### The Editor.

Please make all cheques, P.O.s, and money orders for the Peace News fund payable to Peace News Ltd., and crossed "a/c Payee" and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

## Famine Over Europe

### FOOD FOR GREECE

ARRANGEMENTS for a relaxation of the British blockade in favour of Greece were expected to be announced in Parliament this week.

When the announcement was made, however (on Tuesday), it amounted to no more than the authorization, by the British and US Governments, of a single shipment of 8,000 tons of wheat under the auspices of the International Red Cross.

Even that, however, would be delayed, not only by arrangements for the supply of wheat but also by arrangements for the shipping and necessary safe-conduct, although "the utmost would be done to expedite the shipment."

"The British Government decided to make this special exception to its blockade policy—which in general will be strictly maintained—after receiving details of the pitiful plight of the Greeks under German domination from the Greek Government in this country," stated the News Chronicle, Jan. 26.

### BELGIUM'S NEED

Something of Belgium's suffering was indicated by M. Pierlot in an interview published by the Sunday Times on Jan. 25:

As you know, the population is in a state of famine which, even now, is leading to very serious consequences so far as public health and future of youth are concerned. It looks as if this situation may turn into a catastrophe toward the end of the winter; that is to say, when what is left over from the last harvest will be entirely used up.

### "THE FACTS ARE COMPELLING"

### London Meeting Hears of Europe's Need

"LET us not use what Germany might do as an excuse for not doing what is our clear duty ourselves," pleaded Vera Brittain in answer to a question at the "Food for Europe" meeting at the Aeolian Hall, London, on Saturday last.

Stuart Morris, chairman, explaining at the outset that the meeting was organised by the London Area PPU, added that it was not propagandist in intention. "This meeting reflects our own deep concern at the way the situation in Europe is developing. We believe that the facts themselves are compelling," he told the large audience. "We want those facts to speak for themselves."

Vera Brittain, the first speaker, recounted her own experiences of blockaded Europe long after the last war, and outlined the present plight of "the Greeks and the Belgians—our friends and allies, who shared the misery and terror of our unsuccessful Eastern and Western campaigns. It is compassion with which we are concerned today," she declared, claiming, with George Eliot, that "more helpful than all wisdom is one draught of simple human pity that will not forsake us."

### "FIELD-MARSHAL FAMINE"

Charles Dimont, who spoke from journalistic experience in occupied Europe, declared, "We hear today of General Winter, but if winter is a

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## A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

Edited by "OBSERVER"

## What Peace Now Would Mean

PEACE? Alas, I see no sign of it at all, no faint red streak of dawn in the sullen sky. Peace now would mean for Britain the acceptance of the loss of her Empire in the Far East. Here is the Manchester Guardian's (Jan. 26) summing up of the position that has developed in the brief six weeks since Mr. Churchill went to America.

Since then the tale has been one of continuous and almost unmitigated disaster, with British and American Pacific possessions passing steadily away from our control, and with new threats developing that cannot yet be effectively checked. We have now received a further setback in Libya, and American diplomacy, whatever fine words may be used about "hemispherical solidarity," has suffered a defeat at the Rio Conference.

The effects on public opinion everywhere have been profound. The resentment against our weak resistance to the Japanese is deep and angry. The only bright side is the success of the Russians, but, though we have contributed something toward it in material, it only throws up our own failures in stronger relief.

That is not a situation in which we can hope for any attempt at peace, however wise it might be to try to get it.

### Confusion at Home

THE domestic situation is incredibly confused. A Gallup poll says confidence in Mr. Churchill among the public is higher than ever: 89 per cent to be precise (News Chronicle, Jan. 22). Yet confidence in him in Parliament and in "the hypothetical intelligent man" is undoubtedly lower than ever. The working-class is said to be all-out for Russian victory. Yet the shipbuilding trades are re-

fusing to work overtime because they now have to pay income-tax.

The contradiction, here, is quite fantastic. But nobody says so outright. I will whisper therefore that I wonder what the British working-class, which imagines itself so enthusiastic for Russia, would really do if one-quarter of the rigours of the Russian system were imposed upon it. Indeed, everybody seems to be worshipping some particular mirage, living by some peculiar idol. It is a strange, uncanny shadow-show.

### The Russian Idol

THE chief idols are Russia, America, and Churchill; and Churchill's glory seems to be largely reflected from the other two. Russia is an idol of a different kind from the others. There is something truly significant there. Significant, but not friendly. Really not. Quite as deeply opposed to the bases of British life as Nazism is. That does not mean that Russia may not be right—the goods would be a better phrase. The bases of British life may be more completely decayed than even we suppose them to be. But the idea that the new Russia is a well-meaning but gawky society waiting to be taught manners, with which Britain can reach some gentlemanly arrangement for the partitioning and ruling the world seems ludicrous.

Russia is a huge country which has (1) gone through the most shattering and prolonged revolution any nation has ever suffered (2) endured the fiercest battle that has ever been fought in modern times. What Rus-

sia has "taken" and what we have "taken" are as a thousand to one: a common cold to a life-and-death operation. Russia is a frightening, not a comforting, phenomenon. And—if I am not mistaken—the grip of her reality will be as terrifying to our Communists as to our Conservatives. Please cut this out for reference.

### "Confidence" Vote

AT the time of writing, I am awaiting with intense curiosity what will be, admittedly, the most important debate on the war since Mr. Churchill's government was formed. Criticism from Australia grows more bitter and angry every day.

The Times (Jan. 24) has to impress upon a still sceptical public that Australia is quite unanimous in its feeling that it has been "intolerably let down." And, though it is now definitely reported that Mr. Churchill intends to press for a vote of confidence, such a vote of confidence—which would no doubt be both mechanical and overwhelming—would, it seems, rather exacerbate than compose the deep Australian feeling.

Meanwhile, Rommel, so far from being annihilated, has recaptured Jedabia. Russia and America are the only visible items on the credit balance; and neither is of our making. And, as to America, a sober estimate of her vast production programme in The Economist reduces it—at a maximum, supposing a restriction of American domestic consumption proportionate to our own—to something

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## Atrocities and Propaganda

THE Russian official indictment of the conduct of the German army in those parts of Soviet territory which have lately been recaptured was published in full in the Sunday Dispatch of January 18. It filled two whole pages of that newspaper. A few general considerations may be offered.

Two things are certain about war in general. The first is that, in the course of every war, atrocities are committed. No army has ever invaded another country against resistance but women have been raped. You cannot give rein to the brute in man, as is done in war, without giving rein to him altogether. After an hour's work with the bayonet, soldiers do not behave like Galahads. The belief that they can and do is part of the false romanticism of war. War definitely brutalizes the common man who is made to wage it.

The second is that atrocity propaganda is inseparable from war. The enemy soldiers are beasts; your own are saints. That belief necessarily follows from believing that you are good and the enemy is evil. Without that belief on both sides it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to carry on modern war. Since atrocities are always committed, there is always some foundation for atrocity-propaganda. It is never entirely false; nor is it ever entirely true.

Those general considerations apply to any war. But in regard to the catalogue of German atrocities which the Russian Government has put forward, there are a few particular considerations to be borne in mind. A large part of the catalogue consists in a record of villages partly destroyed by the Germans contrary to "the rules of war." Out of 350 houses in such a village 323 were destroyed... and so on.

But we cannot forget that day after day, week after week, the British press carried accounts of the stubborn guerilla warfare which was being waged behind the lines of the advancing German army. The Russians cannot have it both ways. If this heroic guerilla warfare was waged, the Germans were not breaking "the rules of war" by destroying Russian villages. On the contrary, this is the recognized mode of countering guerilla warfare. It was adopted, deliberately and systematically, by the British armies during the South African war. The unarmed inhabitants were rounded up and put in concentration-camps and the Boer farmhouses burned.

The second particular consideration is that we have been invited to admire the resolution with which the Russians have applied the policy of "the scorched earth." We have admired their resolution. But it seems a little strange that after this work of systematic devastation, applied by themselves, the Russians should be so shocked that the Germans should have scorched the earth again as they retired.

Yet a third consideration. For some reason the Russians lay emphasis on the devastation of Russian cultural achievements in the sister-republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. That cannot be allowed to pass unquestioned. These sister-republics had their independence taken away from them by Russia in 1939 by an act of aggression, of the same cynicism as German aggression in Czecho-Slovakia.

The Germans were certainly guilty of deliberate brutality. But we cannot accept the Russian document as an honest indictment of their offences. It is propaganda with elements of truth in it; but it is not the truth.

British Empire  
"Isolationists"

a little over twice our own present war-production.

## U.S.A. and the Pacific

THERE are, as I have suggested, significant potentialities in the dissatisfaction of Australia. According to reports, it was precisely the conception of the war which outrages Australia—that beating Germany in Europe is the main concern, while the Far East is a subsidiary theatre—to which Mr. Churchill succeeded in converting Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers. That may be doubted. At any rate, it is difficult to reconcile with two known facts: first, that Australia now puts its views directly before Mr. Roosevelt without the intermediary of London; and, second, that for Americans in general the primary war is the war with Japan. It is the Japanese attack which brought America, as a nation, into the war.

It would therefore seem unlikely that if Australia is insisting on the equal importance of the war in the Far East, and on her attitude being authoritatively represented, America is standing in the way: particularly since the Chinese and the Dutch are also restive about what they consider to be the neglect of the Far East by

British strategy. In short, Mr. Churchill's position, as generalissimo of the war, is bound to be seriously affected. According to the Daily Herald, (Jan. 24) Mr. Churchill is banking on having better news to report in the Pacific very soon. Assuredly the entire disappearance of the American fleet is more than a minor mystery.

## Empire Unity Snags

BUT it is no simple matter to get a really united British Empire. Hitherto Canada and South Africa have opposed the formation of an Imperial War Cabinet: both from important considerations of domestic politics. Conscription would be involved. The French Canadians are radically opposed to the introduction of military conscription for overseas service—naturally, because the French Canadians have deep sympathies with Vichy France. And in South Africa the opposition to General Smuts's war-policy is even more open and forthright. No fewer than 48 members of the Union Parliament voted for a motion demanding outright secession from the British Empire. Forty-eight out of 140 is a formidable proportion.

Thus there are two substantial and influential bodies of "isolationists" in both Canada and South Africa: the French-Canadians sympathizing with Vichy France and its system of Catholic authoritarianism; and the Afrikaners—still more alarmingly—sympathizing with Hitler and his doctrine of the Herren-volk. They are bound to be grit in the wheels of any effective unity for war of the democratic parts of the British Empire. The less said about the other parts, the better.

## When is a Door Not a Door?

When it's a-jar: but not all questions are so easy to answer, says

T. J. E. WARBURTON

TAKE "quislings": who or what is a Quisling? From a careful study of the news and of articles in the war press it would seem that a Quisling is someone who collaborates with the enemy. When he collaborates with us he is "loyal" (e.g. the Indian Princes).

Thus we see that "quisling," with or without the capital is simply a term of abuse, like "fifth columnist" or "traitor." The converted, "democratic" government of Iran, for instance, which collaborates with the Russo-British forces of occupation, is most definitely not a quisling government. The previous government was that, because it had pro-German leanings.

The same rules apply to the use of the term "puppet." A puppet government is one which is set up by the enemy. When a government is installed by ourselves, in another country, it's an "ally," which makes all the difference, of course.

## "TRAVELLERS"

Now let us turn to another expression very frequently met with nowadays. It's a curious thing that, with the onset of war and the curtailment of many normal, peace-time pursuits and activities, travelling appears to have increased to a most remarkable degree. Whenever the enemy perpetrates a new atrocity, such as killing off "useless" people or eating its prisoners alive, one can be sure there's a Traveller (or Neutral Observer) hanging around, note-book in hand, taking it all down in most circumstantial detail for the benefit of the readers of the Daily Express or of some other daily war paper.

These Travellers (or Neutral Observers, or Eyewitnesses) appear to enjoy complete diplomatic immunity and can come and go where and how they please. They often write as from "the German Frontier," but which one of Germany's somewhat overblown frontiers is seldom specified.

As for those who write on the subject of "Inside Germany," the main point of significance here is their uncanny ability to get their detailed reports outside that country. Perhaps the German censors don't understand any language but their own.

However it is, we know for certain that the people of Berlin go around whispering agitatedly to one another,

who examines some war-time "riddles"

"Will the RAF be coming over tonight? The wind is in the west. The moon is full, the sky is clear. Just the night for a raid. Himmel! I am terrified!" and then dive into the ramshackle shelters (which, we were told before the war came, were so wonderfully arranged and entirely bomb-proof), to be lectured by the shelter marshals, who of course are Gestapo agents in disguise.

"We can take it," but the enemy of course cannot (even the Russian ability to "take it" is based only upon the fact of their being our Allies). After a raid by the RAF, machine-guns have to be set up at the corners of Berlin streets to cow the terrified population and prevent a mass rising.

It's all very impressive when one reads about it in the papers; just what one would expect of foreigners, except those who happen to be fighting on our side. Curious to think how virtuous the Huns would be, were we allied with them against some other country.

★

THIS brings us to another question.

What is the secret of the Russian ability to re-equip their forces down to the last mitten, in the space of a few months?

In the Russo-Finnish War of 1939/40 the newspapers continually harped on the rotten equipment possessed by the soldiers of the USSR. The Finns were everywhere superior, in morale, and in the possession of warm clothing and stout boots. We were given impressive accounts of thousands of Russian corpses lying frozen by the wayside, still clutching rifles and machine-guns in frost-bitten, gloveless, hands. The invincible Red Army, it appeared, was in reality a stumbling, ragged, frozen, dull-witted giant, no match for the gallant Finns.

And now, behold! all is reversed: the Russian Army is magnificently equipped (although we're knitting for Russia—does anyone knit for Britain by the way?), and it's the Germans who wage war amid the snow and frost, clad in women's fur coats (by Schiaparelli) and eiderdowns snatched from the beds of defenceless combatants disguised as non-combatants... in short, "civilians."

## MORE RIDDLES

Of course, an easy question is the  
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A PACIFIST COMMENTARY  
(Continued from page one)

## War-Lord

IT seems strange and premonitory that so able a parliamentarian as Mr. Churchill should have got himself into so awkward a situation. A vote of confidence will not improve matters.

"It will but skin and flim the ulcerous place. Whiles rank infection, mining all within, Infects unseen."

There is very deep dissatisfaction with the British war-leadership. And Mr. Churchill's obstinate refusal to reconstruct the Government, which is charitably ascribed to his loyalty to colleagues, seems rather to proceed from a kind of megalomania—a refusal to share power and responsibility, which ought to have been shared long ago: if there had been anybody to share it.

Mr. Churchill seems to be determined to be the war-lord of the British Empire, and to damn the consequences. The consequences are damnable. Whether they could have been averted by any measures of Government reconstruction is another matter entirely. One has the feeling of watching the rather terrible spectacle of a great nation and a great tradition in the paralysis of disintegration.

## Earth's Proud Empires

WHAT is one to say, really, about the liquidation of the British and the Dutch empires in the Far East? Except that liquidation, for once, is an appropriate word. The empires are dissolving under a ubiquitous yellow tide. Lord Addison says it is all because Brooke-Popham is a "nincompoop." How then shall we describe Lord Addison, who can find nothing more sagacious to say about an elemental convulsion?

And perhaps it is almost as stupid to blame Mr. Churchill for being guilty of the endemic British illusion: that the end of the British Empire is inconceivable. The Romans, with more reason, thought that the end of the Roman Empire was. But it was not. There are brand new chapters in the book of history. Wise men sometimes—but politicians never—have a hunch when an old chapter ends and a new one begins.

## The Role for Cripps

SIR Stafford Cripps did not go to India after all. He arrived in London on Jan. 24, to become the mystery man of the moment. Will he enter the Government or not? I have no idea, only the hope that he will not. He has, I understand returned from Russia with his Christian Socialist convictions more deeply grounded than ever. I reckon myself as a Christian Socialist; and I have to confess that, were I also a prominent politician in Parliament, I do not know what my programme would be. I should be quite certain only of one thing: that it was my duty to give focus to an effective opposition, without which Parliament must go on declining into a claque for an unwieldy and unimaginative Executive.

At the present moment, to lead a genuine opposition is more important than anything else—among things which are possible. Since I can see no-one but Sir Stafford with the ability and integrity required for this very difficult role, or with a comparable freedom from obsolete party entanglements, I regard his decision as of vital importance. Much more depends upon it than is immediately obvious. But please do not imagine I am suggesting that Sir Stafford is likely to take even a faintly pacifist line. It is the vitality of Parliament that he may help to resuscitate. The latest rumour (Mail, Jan. 26) is that Sir Stafford has been offered "a post as Minister without Portfolio charged with the special task of studying post-war reconstruction in all its political aspects." It sounds impressive: it is meaningless.

## Blind Leaders...

WHAT finally disquiets me (I confess) is the blindness of our men of religion. The Malvern Conference plus a British-American-Russian world-empire plus a fixing of the point where retribution becomes vengeance, for the guidance of the triumvirate to be—this is the height of their prophesying. It makes me weep—tears half of rage, half of pity.

When Christian Archbishops cannot get their minds for a single instant outside the secular complacency of their social environment, after they have had twenty-five years of exceptionally eloquent world-history to meditate, it is time to look elsewhere than among the professionals for guidance both in this world and the next.

## Christian Values

A COMMITTEE, presided over by the Bishop of Winchester, has unanimously decided that Dorothy Sayers's broadcast of "The Life of Christ" was not offensive to true Christian sentiment. That is good. Not so good is the news that the annual income of the Lord's Day Observance Society, which has been busy trying to prevent the broadcast, amounts to £42,000 a year! And a reserve fund of £60,000! £42,000 a year for Christian bigotry. How much for Christian pacifism?

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The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is: **PPU HEADQUARTERS,**

Dick Sheppard House,  
6, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## Yorkshire Grit

By JOHN BARCLAY

WITH the temperature well below zero and a snow-storm making the meanest slum a virgin landscape, I set off last Wednesday for a week in East Yorkshire. I had drawn up a time-table to cover the chief towns and outlying districts, but wintry conditions and a train service which baffled connections made it impossible to carry out my full programme.

Hull was my starting point and rallying ground for what I hoped would be the new Region embracing York, Scarborough, Malton, Bridlington, Driffield, Beverley, Cottingham, and Hull. Evacuation and tribunals have played havoc with group membership, and during 1941 bombs have destroyed the magnificent peace centre at Hull and turned what was a flourishing group into a nucleus of gallant souls barely keeping its head above the torrent of war-madness. In spite of every obstacle I found an atmosphere heavily surcharged with hope and latent enthusiasm.

During the three days we had useful meetings at York and Scarborough on nights when only the most fool-hardy mortals ventured abroad. At both these meetings full support was given to the plan for Area Development and for the setting up of a Region as a first step in the right direction.

### STEPPING-STONE

On my way to York I spent four hours at Malton looking up some of those who in the past have given us so much of their time and energy. They are a scattered community but have promised to do all they can as an integral part of the organization—a stepping-stone to greater service.

I tried in vain to get to Skipsea and Bridlington: snow-drifts intervened.

It was at Hull that real progress could be reported. With a debt of £100 owing to HQ on a derelict centre, and with half their active strength, the Hull members have refused to accept defeat. They have already paid off £51 of the debt, and last Saturday the treasurer and I received the keys of a new centre on behalf of the group. It is smaller than the old but has a shop front and two good rooms above it. From here the activities of the new Region will develop. The Regional meeting on Saturday afternoon appointed a secretary and two delegates to attend the Area meeting to be held in February.

I am writing these notes on my way to Sheffield—where I shall be spending another three days helping to establish the South Yorkshire Region with, I hope, equally good results. The weather has given up the unequal struggle and has turned warmer!

### ANOTHER FOOD SHIP

The British United Press reported from Ankara on Thursday of last week that the offer of a 2,000-ton ship, the Tunj, to carry food to the starving Greeks, made by the Turkish Red Crescent, had been accepted by the United Kingdom Corporation.

This followed the report from Istanbul the day before that the Turkish steamer Kurtulush had struck a rock in the Sea of Marmara while on her usual journey to the Piraeus with foodstuffs for the Greek people and had become a total loss.

If one purges the Judaism of the Prophets and Christianity as Jesus Christ taught it of all subsequent additions, especially those of the priests, one is left with a teaching which is capable of curing all the social ills of humanity. It is the duty of every man of good will to strive steadfastly in his own little world to make this teaching of pure humanity a living force, so far as he can. If he makes an honest attempt in this direction without being crushed and trampled under foot by his contemporaries, he may consider himself and the community to which he belongs lucky.—Albert Einstein.

## "The Real Politics of England and Germany" — 2

# How Finance Controls Policy

by  
**JOHN SCANLON**

**T**HERE are two answers to the question: How did London become the money centre of the world, and how does London maintain its power?

Mr. Baldwin, himself, supplied one answer when he asked the rhetorical question. He said in a speech on October 9, 1931:

Why did London become the bankers of the world? Largely, it is true, owing to our commercial position, but far more than that because of the character of the Englishman.

Now it may be true our characters are better than those of mere dwellers on the banks of Abama or Paraphar, the Seine or Volga, but nobody could have been quite certain they could trust us with their money until they had tried us. They had to trust us first and test our characters that way. At any rate a gentleman who knew the working of the money system better than did Mr. Baldwin had quite a different explanation as to why London became the money centre of the world.

This gentleman was Walter Bagehot. He was editor of the Economist, and in the year 1872 he completed a book describing the operations of this great business of money. The book is called "Lombard Street", and, with a few minor corrections, made by Mr. Hartley Withers to bring it up to date, "Lombard Street" is the classic work on the subject. Mr. Bagehot, be it noted, had no quarrel with the basic principles by which London became and remained the money centre of the world, and in explaining the basic principles he says:

Such a note issue as has been described is possible only in a country exempt from invasion and free from revolution.

Hardly any continental country has been till now exempt for long periods both from invasion and revolution. In Holland and Germany—two countries where note issue and deposit banking would seem as natural as in England and Scotland—there was never any security from foreign war. A profound apprehension of external invasion penetrated their whole habits, and men of business would have thought it insane not to contemplate a contingency so frequent in their history, and perhaps witnessed by themselves.

That is explanation No. 2 as to why Britain was the money centre of the world.

For the moment we need not consider whether a system which is governed by the moods and whims of people with spare cash is a good or a bad one. But no-one who cares for the future of humanity can afford to ignore two salient facts.

(1) That the declared policy of Britain as stated by Mr. Baldwin is that London must remain the money centre of the world.

(2) That London can only remain the money centre of the world if Europe is unsettled, either by the threat of revolution or war inside Europe.

In stating these two points I am not stating my own views, I am merely quoting the authorities.

**I**T may be asked what Britain or the people of Britain gain by London being the money centre of the world. The answer to that question is that today, even in the money

sense, it is a dead loss. But that does not in any way lessen the conviction of all politicians that it is essential that London should be the money centre of the world.

I have already quoted Mr. Baldwin as representing the Conservative Party view. The Liberal Party view expressed by Mr. Runciman on Oct. 12, 1931 was the same as that expressed by Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Runciman said of the Labour Party programme: "It would destroy foreign faith in the money market of London..."

In recommending cuts in social services the Labour Party too, of course, was seeking so to balance the budget that foreign confidence would be restored. Foreign confidence was, of course, the confidence that foreign money lying in London would be as safe as Mr. Chamberlain desired it to be.

**O**NCE we have grasped this basic principle of the economic system there is little else to learn about it. True, an enormous superstructure has been erected on the base itself, and it is the workings of the superstructure that mystify the ordinary man. It is the workings of the superstructure, too, which has been responsible for the jargon of the economists and which enables them to talk so learnedly on things which don't really matter. What matters to mankind in general are six main features.

(1) That the economic system by which all mankind lives depends on the whims and fears of people known as investors.

(2) That some centre is considered desirable where investors can place their spare cash, and from which those who deal in money can re-lend to those who wish to produce goods.

(3) That all the authorities are agreed that the country lending money has an advantage over a country requiring to borrow.... (In a speech on October 13, 1931 Sir John, now Lord, Simon explained that as a result of lendings prior to 1931 Britain now received between two and three hundred million pounds in interest each year without requiring to send any present goods in payment.)

(4) That several countries believe they should be the money-lending centre of the world.

(5) That all British statesmen were agreed that only London should be the money-lending centre.

(6) That London had become and was more likely to remain the money centre if Europe was threatened by war or revolution.

That is the economic policy of Britain, and the political Government expresses that policy. There are, as we all know, a large number of political departments. But, as Labour found in 1931, the scope and functions of all the social service departments are strictly confined to what the economic conditions will permit. This is what Mr. Ramsay MacDonald always described as "cutting your coat according to your 'cloth'!"

Actually there are only two departments with power to determine the amount of cloth. There is the Treasury, which keeps the books, and the Foreign Office, which sees to it that world conditions ensure that the books will balance.

Now clearly Britain's books will not balance on a basis of exporting goods and services in exchange for goods and services. All the experts are agreed we must have those hundreds of millions of annual interest derived from the power of lending. All the experts are agreed that we will lose that power if London does not do the lending. All are agreed that London cannot do the lending unless Europeans feel that money deposits are unsafe in Europe.

**F**ROM all this it would seem that the function of the Foreign Office is to keep Europe continually in fear of war. But that would be too naive and too crude as a theory. The trouble is that the history of the last hundred and fifty years shows that it happened in fact.

As an example, why should the Foreign Office sponsor a plan to give Germany equality in arms with France in 1931? Politically Europe was then tranquil. No war between France and Germany was possible in the circumstances of 1931. Yet, there was the plan to give Germany equality in arms with France. Germany was then poor. France was rich, so rich indeed that, according to a report of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations, in 1928 she was once more lending money in rivalry with London.

But, as I say, the theory that we seek to keep Europe on the jump is too crude. There is nothing to support the theory except the economic facts, and it is these facts Lenin says we must investigate before we can begin to say what wars are about.

## Famine Over Europe

### LONDON MEETING

general, then Famine and Pestilence are Field-Marshal.

As long ago as October, 1940, the US Department of Agriculture had announced shortage, while the recently published League of Nations Economic Survey predicted "increasingly grave problems of famine this coming winter." The relief to Greece which the Turks had initiated was "pitifully inadequate."

Some 20,000,000 Americans favoured controlled food relief for Europe, while a Gallup poll put the figure as high as 38 per cent. The Americans did not like blockade. In 1915 they had threatened to stop supplies to the Allies if the blockade were not released. From recent events one might infer that American opinion was not unimportant.

Moreover, Americans knew the facts. John Cudahy's article in Life had been written word for word into the Congressional record. Such men as General Pershing and Admiral Pratt had given their opinion that food relief would be no military advantage for Germany.

"Colonel Britton broadcasts V signs to occupied Europe. I would remind the Colonel," said Charles Dimont, "that V also stands for vanity, and until we rid ourselves of this horrible vanity which assumes British priorities over the Continent, we shall have no right to play a real part in the reconstruction of Europe."

### HEROIC GREECE

Roy Walker, the last speaker, quoted a letter sent by a Greek doctor recently in Athens. "The population of Greece, in spite of all privations, continues sharing its little food with the 2,000 English soldiers hiding in Greece."

Disclaiming any intention to dictate to the Government, the speaker then outlined "proposals which might be worth considering." These formed the Hoover plan of 1940 for relief in five countries to feed 18,000,000 people. In the British press reports the plan was distorted and the vital safeguards suppressed. The plan was rejected as too risky.

The 1941 proposal aimed at feeding 3,000,000 children and unemployed adults in Belgium. More than half

### HEARS THE FACTS

(Continued from page 1)

of the necessary food was to be supplied by the Germans. Again British reports distorted the plan. While experience showed that relief was successful, the risks which critics emphasised needed consideration.

"Under the 1940 proposal the risk was less than 3 days' supply for Germany. Under the 1941 plan the risk was much less than one day's food for Germany. Surely we are entitled to say these risks are trivial in comparison with the urgency of the need."

### RELIEF IN POLAND

"In this war food relief work has been done in Poland with complete success. Thousands have perished of starvation, but the Commission on Relief in Poland has saved the lives of 50,000 children."

"Most striking of all is the case of Greece. Only Overseas supplies can save her. While we have been sitting here," declared Roy Walker, "it is certain that at least 100 Greeks have died of starvation."

"We must not forget that the merchant men and ships of Greece and Norway and Holland now bring food to this country. They are entitled to demand that a few of these ships should be used to bring aid to their starving countrymen."

After questions, the meeting ended, at the invitation of the chairman, as it had begun, with a moment of silence.

### FACTUAL BULLETIN

Outside the meeting and in the streets of London during the weekend, 45 sellers sold 1,500 copies of a specially produced bulletin of facts, articles, and news of the food-relief campaign entitled Famine. Birmingham was to have had a similar sales drive.

But the bulletin is still available. It reproduces authoritative statements by spokesmen of the USA, Greece, Belgium, and other countries as to the reality of the need for food to go through the blockade. There is an article on the effects of economic warfare; ghastly pictures for the unimaginative; even a satirical article (which, however, is far from making light of the grimness of the business).

The most valuable features of Famine, which alone make it a worth-while publication, are the articles by Vera Brittain and Roy Walker stressing respectively the equal humanity and practicability of the case for controlled food-relief.

Copies of the paper can be obtained from 8 Endsleigh Gardens, London W.C.1, price 1d. or 12 copies for 9d.



## Counsels of Despair

(Continued from page 1)

are going to have any force at all, you must be sure you have enough. It is more disastrous to have insufficient force than to have none at all. We must make it clear that conscription is now to last for the next two generations; otherwise we shall be betraying the cause we are serving.

We cannot get out of the responsibilities that victory will lay upon us. Last time we shirked it and America shirked it worse. We must not shirk it again. There will be an armistice, and I hope we shall live under that armistice for two or three years before we summon a peace conference.

I hope, too, that the peace conference itself will be attended by the representatives of all nations, including the conquered ones. Once this peace conference has opened I hope it will take its time. If it takes twenty years to do its work it will by that time come to be accepted as in effect the federal body of Europe.

On the same day as the Archbishop spoke, the Christian News Letter called attention to the "invaluable aid" to clear thinking to be found in the current issue of Planning, the broadsheet of PEP. The thesis is

that all problems of politics are at bottom problems of power—physical, economic, and moral, and that power entails responsibilities which must be clearly defined and accepted; that the world is moving irrevocably to a new international distribution of power in the hands of a few large groups under the domination or leadership of one or more great Powers. If the Allies win, the principle of organization will not be racial domination but the co-operation of free peoples under responsible leadership. Britain must accept responsibility for measures for effective military control over Germany; in the new framework a new Europe can grow for which all nations will come to feel loyalty.

The essential conditions for this plan are—that genuine understanding should grow between Russian and Anglo-Saxon peoples, that British statesmen learn to think of the larger good of Europe, and that lasting national leadership is that of example in setting our own house in order and proffering a more satisfying social philosophy than those of continental ideologies.

The Christian News Letter appeals for Christian realism in setting up this framework. "Technical advances in armament make this possible." The sense of a "Christian mission" and a "national destiny" should be considered, and our tradition of liberty, toleration, and respect for the individual. Consciousness of a mission means surrender to divine or demonic powers. The News Letter has misgivings whether we are capable as a nation of meeting these high moral demands of dedicated victory; whether security, comfort, and self-indulgence haven't undermined our "high political tradition," and it concludes

The conversion which is necessary must take place at two levels. The one is the growth in the community generally of a new moral purpose. But this will come about only if there is at a deeper spiritual level the whole-hearted and passionate commitment of some to a new set of values and a new way of life. Both ends have to be sought simultaneously.

One wonders if there is not in this dualism something of what Cromwell the Liberator put in a sentence: "Trust God, and keep your powder dry." This maxim and method did not bring liberation to England or reconciliation to Ireland, where he is "Bloody Cromwell" unto this day.

### Repentance

Nor did Kipling's Recessional seem to save men from putting their trust in "reeking tube and iron shard," nor prevent Kipling himself from being an advocate of practical ruthlessness in the last war and in the Irish troubles that followed.

In the last war there was an official Mission of Hope and Repentance. As one observer remarked at the time, "We are repenting like anything—of everything but war."

Perhaps we must begin there in the Grand Plan for a new world order, if it is to outlast the Five Years Plan of Russia or the Thousand Years Plan of Hitler.

If the Service of God and Mammon could have succeeded, it would have been in England, where we have sought so earnestly to combine both. But is not the present attempt to combine the ministry of Christ and of Mars equally a counsel of despair likely, as in 1919, to lead to the enthronement of hatred and revenge?

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The date of the PPU AGM is now definitely fixed for April 25-26, at Friends' House, London N.W.1. The probable times: 2-7.30 p.m. on April 25 and 10 a.m.-4.30 p.m. on April 26. The agenda will probably be similar to last year's—reports, accounts, and three subjects chosen for discussion.

## NEWS OF C.O.s

### Compulsion for Civil Defence Forces

**AFTER** Feb. 5, part-time service in the Civil Defence Services (National Fire Service, Civil Defence Reserve, and Police War Reserve) will be compulsory. Until then, people serving in these may resign if they wish to, but they will not of course be exempt from conscription for those services.

According to the Political Correspondent of the Daily Telegraph (Jan. 23), plans for greater co-operation between the Home Guard and civil defence services are now being discussed in Whitehall. The proposal is to economize in man-power by enrolling ARP personnel in the Home Guard and putting Home Guards on some civil defence duties.

### 12 MONTHS FOR REFUSING "CONDITIONAL"

A sentence of 12 months imprisonment for failing to fulfil a land work, ARP, etc. condition as directed by a tribunal was imposed at Tottenham police court on Saturday on Donald Loremore Ashness-Wells, of Palmers Green. He is reported to have told the court that he thought he should be allowed to continue his work as a teacher rather than be put to work of which he knew nothing.

Ken Sheppard (of PPU Headquarters staff), having refused to pay a fine of £10 for not registering for fire-watching, was on Jan. 20 sentenced to two months imprisonment.

At Croydon on Jan. 20 Mark Hayler (who claimed to be the first CO in Croydon in the last war), Reg. Porcas (CBCO London Appeals reporter), Robert Foster (of For Headquarters), who had been court-martialled twice in Singapore and, after two further courts-martial in England and great hardships, had been discharged from the army, and two others were charged with failing to register for fire-watching under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order. All five were fined £5 with one guinea costs. All refused to pay on conscientious grounds, and the Bench gave an alternative of 14 days imprisonment.

### When is a Door Not a Door?

(Continued from page 2)

one, "When is invasion not invasion?" Answer, when it's ours. We "enter" a country, the enemy "rapes" it. The same with aggression: the enemy "aggresses," we "expand" or "enlarge our sphere of influence."

Both sides, however, use the term "protection" to describe the taking over of a small nation. Here the difference lies in the tone of voice adopted by radio announcers. When, for instance, the BBC is speaking of the "protectorate" of Czecho-Slovakia, the announcer is capable of implying righteous contempt, just by the inflexion of his voice. There is an impressive pause before the word is uttered: worlds of unspoken denunciation lie in that pause.

★

**AND** now, finally, we come to the burning question, when is a nation not a nation? Or perhaps it should be put this wise: when is a not-nation a nation? It seems that a not-nation is a nation when two or three nationals of that nation gather together in another country and call themselves a government, or council.

Thus we see that Hitler was wasting his time when he overran Europe. It's impossible to conquer a nation in Paris or Belgrade when it springs up again in London or New York. Twenty-six nations, the war press informs us, now fight on our side.

India is one of them, we see. India was not consulted over being declared a belligerent, so she is hardly likely to sign a separate peace while she remains an occupied country. Panama became a democracy when her former government protested against the misuse by the USA of the Panamanian flag, and passed a measure to prevent a recurrence of the abuse.

Panama, as a puppet State, is obviously incapable of independent action. But what about Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and so on? Where are those nations? In Europe—or in London and Washington?

It is, anyway, comforting to have Luxembourg on our side, but one is surprised by the absence of Iceland from the Anti-Axis Front. After all, did not we, and subsequently the Americans, occupy Iceland in order to protect her from the rapacity of the enemy? Iceland appears singularly ungrateful for its protection, but that unfortunately is the way of small nations.

### ALL-IN ALLIANCES

I have a suggestion to make. There are many Germans and still more Italians outside Germany and Italy who are ideologically opposed to Hitler and Il Duce. Let the leading personages among these refugees be formed into Governments. With Germany and Italy on our side, the Axis wouldn't stand a chance.

How about it, Mr. Churchill? The same might be done with the Japanese, if there are sufficient exalted Nipponeese available for this purpose.

But a thought intrudes: two can play at this game. What is to prevent Hitler from forming governments on similar lines, and bringing Great Britain and her Empire and the United States of America into the war on the side of the Axis? Russia similarly could be brought to declare war on Russia.

It's all very confusing.

### C.O.s HANSARD

The need for authentic information as to the position of women under conscription is met to a considerable degree by the latest issue of the COs Hansard (No. 10, Jan.). In this "series of reprints from Parliamentary Reports of matter concerning the CO between Oct. 24 1941 and Dec. 10 1941" matters concerning women occupy the greatest space and range from the general subject of conscription to such particular aspects as reinstatement.

Second only to this is the subject of boys and girls—again covering the whole field in both general and specific terms. But other COs' interests included make this issue of the COs Hansard as valuable as earlier ones, and the inclusion of headings make it easier to refer to.

It is published by the CBCO, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, price 6d. (postage 1d.).

### ADVISORY BUREAUX

Bournemouth.—Robert Hillman, 105 Palmerston Road, Bournemouth.

Bridlington.—W. H. Marsh, 91 The Promenade, Bridlington.

Central London (all East and West Central postal districts).—Charles H. Davies, 1 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Chorley Wood.—Gerald V. Cooper, 3 Beechwood Avenue, Chorley Wood.

Conway (individual adviser).—Rev. H. Walter Jones, Hafan, Cadnant Park, Conway.

Gt. Yarmouth.—Miss Ethel M. Pattern, 86 Churchill Road, Newtown, Gt. Yarmouth.

Llanberis (individual adviser).—Rev. Ben Owen, The Nant Padarn Congregational Church, Llanberis.

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### EDUCATIONAL

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ANY COMMUNITY needing member with agricultural experience? Stock, milking, growing. Contact "X.Z." Box 1073 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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MARKET GARDEN. 1½ acres of cultivated land within 4 miles large country town in Dorset; 1 new hut 20ft. x 12ft.; 1 chicken house; 1 goat and goat house. £200; would consider renting. Box 1072 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED URGENTLY, old clothes, protective clothing, boots etc. for C.O. forestry and land-workers in Yeovil area. Send c/o S. Poan, Beverley, Marsh Lane, Yeovil.

### LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

THE WORD. February issue now selling. Well illustrated. Striking anti-militarist and C.O. issue. Ann. sub. 3s. single copies, post free 3d. 12 pages. Good print. Strickland Press, 104 George St., Glasgow, C.1.

### MEETINGS, &c.

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. Meetings every Sunday, 106 George St., Glasgow, C.1, 7.30 p.m. questions, discussions. Study Circle, Thursdays, 8 p.m. Group meetings, Mondays, 8 p.m. Comrades wishing to become national members should write Secretary, enclosing stamp for reply.

### PERSONAL

PACIFIST COUPLE offer home and pocket money to woman C.O. or wife of C.O. in exchange for light help. Mackenzie Lamb, 18 Duke's Av., Kingston-on-Thames.

## Letters to the Editor

### BAD STRATEGY

Your article condemning a certain form of war, or rather "hate" propaganda, will, I feel sure, be welcomed by all right-thinking people, pacifist or otherwise.

Broadcasts which incite the populations of occupied countries to murder and assassination would receive little toleration if addressed by our opponents to the people of, say, Iran or Iraq. These propaganda tactics are from a moral standpoint as much to be deplored as a strategic mistake would be in military warfare. Such things will be neither excused nor forgotten in a world which at some future date must return to peace and sanity. In their logical implications they actually strive to maintain perpetual war.

Col. Britton and others like him are doing this country a great wrong in degrading our finest and best traditions.

LENA ROBERTS

### Service of Youth

I was interested in the article in the Jan. 9 issue of Peace News re youth registration.

At a course which I was recently fortunate to take at which members of the Board of Education were present, particular stress was laid on the importance of the training of our youth "in mind and character" as well as body at this time—not with the sole object of pre-service training: in fact that aspect of the training of our youth was looked upon with some disfavour.

I think it is true to say "that many of those serving on the Youth Committees in the country are doing so because they believe that they might by this service help to eliminate the havoc of war by training a progressive and free generation to come." Here surely is an opportunity which the pacifist should not neglect, a most wonderful opportunity for training the future citizens of this country to think seriously and along right lines.

We cannot ignore it, and I would urge that individual pacifists and pacifist bodies should give serious consideration to the starting of clubs. I would be happy to give assistance in the formation of clubs.

C. J. CARTER

105 Primrose Avenue, Romford.

### PERSONAL (cont.)

SEVENTY-FIVE Babies need your help. Eight men wanted for night duty on pacifist fire squad at Manchester Babies' Hospital. Write Cowan, 15 Dean Drive, Wilmslow, Manchester.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT requires Audit Clerk; previous experience not essential if able to accept small salary during period of training. Burston, King Square, Bridgwater, Somerset.

CITY ACCOUNTANT (now in Harrow) requires audit clerk. Progressive permanency. Write fully Box 1071 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FRIENDS' SCHOOL, Sibford, near Banbury. Wanted immediately domestic help. Sibford is a co-educational boarding school of 200 governed by the Society of Friends. In beautiful country area. Applications to Headmaster.

I HAVE vacancies for men on timber hauling with tractors. Applicants must have experience in manual work, adaptable, and willing to learn. Preference given to those with some experience of timber hauling, but any applicants who are well accustomed to manual work will be given every assistance to learn the job. Good wages will be paid as soon as proficiency is attained, meanwhile a liberal living wage will be paid. Apply, giving particulars of experience etc. and stating nature of exemption from military service, to J. P. Williams, Timber Merchant, Gobowen, Salop. PACIFIST SOLICITOR in Central London requires shorthand typist. Also girl 14/15. Box 1070 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. SHORTHAND-TYPIST wanted. Married or single; husband could work on farm. Henry Burt, Dowsby, nr. Bourne, Lincolnshire.

### SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

AS COOK-HOUSEKEEPER, with accommodation for husband (own employment, willing to do odd jobs) and schoolgirl; ages 40, 47, 11; pacifists. Box 1079 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

CAPABLE young couple would welcome offers of positions in connexion with welfare work, teaching, church, farming, or indeed anything interesting and useful. Box 1081 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. CLERK, TYPIST; requires post East London. A. L. Wright, c/o 48 Eversleigh Road, East Ham, E.6.

C.O. WANTS WORK vegetables, fruit; experienced; South or South West England. Box 1076 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HONOURS GRADUATE (34), pacifist, with son (4); seeks post, preferably teaching, secretarial, or organizing. Wide experience. Husband C.O. Box 1075 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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